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New Tracts for the Times

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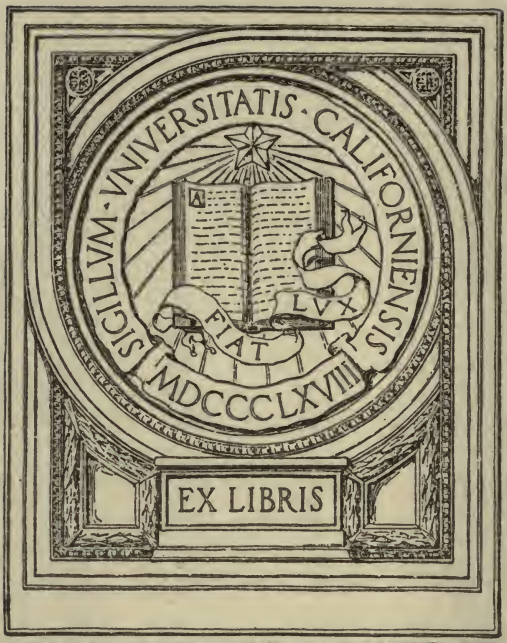
METHODS OF RACE-REGENERATION

C. W. SALEEBY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New Tracts for the Times

THE METHODS OF RACE-REGENERATION

NEW TRACTS FOR THE TIMES

TRACTS PUBLISHED

"The Problem of Race-Regeneration." By Dr. Havelock Ellis (Editor, Contemporary Science Series, etc.)

"The Methods of Race-Regeneration." By C. W. Saleeby, M.D., F.R.S.E., F.Z.S. (Author of "Parenthood and Race Culture," etc.)

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New Tracts for the Times

THE METHODS OF RACE-REGENERATION

BY

C. W. SALEEBY, M.D., F.R.S.Ed., F.Z.S.

Author of "Parenthood and Race Culture: An Outline of Eugenics," etc.

NEW YORK
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

By the

Rev. James Marchant

These Tracts might have been called "New Tracts for New Times," since they interpret the signs and prophecies of a new world in the making, demanding the application of loftier ideals, more widely embracing principles, and surer methods of advance than have hitherto prevailed. They do not merely deplore and combat the manifest evils of the past and the present changing conditions, but reveal the foundations of a richer civilisation. The era of destructive criticism, of improving material environment alone, of lavish care for a short season of the unfit merely to turn them adrift at the critical age, of reliance upon forms and drugs, hospitals and penitentiaries, police and prisons and upon unfettered liberty to correct its own abuses, is mercifully passing away. We are living in a transition period, but nearer the future than the past. The wonderful nineteenth century seems already to have become history, and the first decade of the twentieth century has closed. The new spirit of the age, which appeared in wondrous guise on the horizon at the watch of the centuries, is becoming articulate. It is evident to all who possess the historic vision that we are living in the twilight before the dawn. The rapid, ruthless

progress and verily bewildering discoveries and developments of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the opening up of virgin fields of reform and of untrodden and unsuspected paths of advance, were heralds of a new day, of the nearness of the Kingdom of God.

These Tracts, small in bulk, but written by eminent authors, deal with these profound and commanding themes from this inspiring outlook. If they revert to outstanding present-day evils, it is because these menace the future and are a crime against posterity. Account is taken of the persistent and ominous demand for the divorce of religion from morals and education; of the lowering of the ideal of marriage and the substitution of a temporary contract for that permanent union which is necessary, to take no higher ground, for the nurture and education of the next generation; of the commercial employment of married women, resulting, to a serious extent, in the neglect and disruption of family life and the displacement and unemployment of men; and of the economic, social, and selfish influences which involve late marriages and an ever-falling birth-rate. The writers consider the grave and urgent questions of the wastage of child-life; the weakening and pollution of the link between the generations; and the uncontrolled multiplication of the degenerate, who threaten to swamp in a few generations the purer elements of our race. They examine the disquieting signs of physical deterioration; the prevalence of vice, the increase of insanity and feeble-mindedness, and their exhaustless drain upon free-flowing charity and

the national purse; the wide circulation of debasing books and papers which imply the existence, to a deplorable extent, of low ideals amongst a multitude of readers; and some of the manifold evils of our industrial system which cause the hideous congestion of slumdom with its irreparable loss of the finer sensibilities, of beauty, sweetness and light. These and like grievous ills of the social body are treated in the "New Tracts for the Times," from the moral and spiritual standpoint, by constructive methods of redemption, with the knowledge of our corporate responsibility and in relation to their bearing on the future of the race.

The supreme and dominant conception running through these Tracts is the Regeneration of the Race. They strike not the leaden note of despair, but the ringing tones of a new and certain hope. The regenerated race is coming to birth; the larger and nobler civilisation is upon us. It is already seen that it is criminal to live at the expense of the future, that children must be wisely and diligently educated for parenthood, that vice must be sapped at its foundations, that it is much more radically necessary to improve the condition of the race through parentage than through change of environment, that the emphasis must shift from rescue to prevention. These Tracts turn the searchlight of the twentieth century upon such problems and seek to hasten the time when true religion will occupy its rightful place in our human lives, and woman her true place in the home and society, and industry will not deaden and demoralise, and life will be happier,

sweeter and holier for every man, woman and child.

These Tracts must awaken a sensitive, enlightened social conscience throughout Great and Greater Britain, which is being welded into a more compact Empire, and give voice and new life to the long-silent and thwarted aspirations for a regenerated humanity.

In their several ways, the authors of these "New Tracts for the Times," each being alone responsible for his or her own contribution, adopt this bracing and hopeful attitude towards the transcendent problems which it is the object of the promoters to elucidate.

J. M.

National Council of Public Morals,
Holborn Hall, London, W. C.
September, 1911.

THE METHODS OF RACE-REGENERATION

INTRODUCTION

THERE is no public nor private deed that may not affect, in ways unseen or seen, the quality of a people—so sensitive and impressionable is the life of a community, so great the consequences which may flow from the smallest cause. Here, therefore, no more is professed than to set forth, in some system, the principal directions in which the aim of race-regeneration may be pursued. If our statement is to be worth making it must clearly be based upon some fundamental classification of the problem involved; and that classification which seems simple enough, but has taken many years of continuous investigation to reach, must first be set forth. Thereafter we may proceed to study the solution of the problem under each of its different factors in turn.

Physical life is a relation between inborn tendencies and the surroundings in which they find themselves, between heredity and environment, between nature and nurture. Hence all the characters of all living things, physical or psychical, high or low, common or uncommon, visible or invisible, are the *product*—not the *sum*—of nature and nurture. It follows that we must concern ourselves with both of these factors in our efforts, that we waste time if we seek to exalt either above the

other, both being necessary, and that we are enemies of our own cause if we seek to arouse internecine struggle between those who see the importance of heredity or nature, and those who see that, since bad nurture will ruin the finest natural possibilities in the world, no scheme of race-regeneration is more than one-half of the whole which ignores the nurtural factor of the case. The point is of no less practical than academic importance, since great injury has been done to the cause of race-regeneration by some who have lately discovered the importance of heredity, and have argued from the half-truth just seen by them that education is a delusion, or that social reform is useless, or that snobbery and class-prejudice have sound biological foundations. Those who seek to save the race by setting class against class, or sex against sex, or creed against creed, are condemned at the outset: no class or sect or sex within the social organism can be saved alone: we "rise or fall together, dwarfed or God-like, bond or free."

Let us beware, then, of illustrating yet again the remark of Emerson that, on all subjects whatsoever, men tend to "pair off into insane parties"; and let us content ourselves with both halves of the evident truth that for the regeneration of the race we desire the best hereditary possibilities and the best conditions for their development: only the product of the best "nature" and the best "nurture" will give us the best race.

From this point onwards I propose to use for race-regeneration the term Eugenics, which was introduced now nearly thirty years ago by my august master Fran-

cis Galton to describe those who seek the regeneration of the race by the application of the laws of life. And I shall use the term Eugenist, introduced by myself at the beginning of the campaign for which Galton asked, when he said that his disciples must instil these principles into the public mind like a new religion.

Here, then, is the classification at which I have arrived since that time.

"Nature" and "nurture" being alike our necessary concern, we must recognize a Natural Eugenics, which has regard to all the aspects of heredity, and a Nurtural Eugenics, which has regard to all the aspects of environment. Since nature precedes nurture in order of time and logic, and since nurture alone, if heredity be neglected, will fail, as history from first to last records, we must call natural eugenics primary and nurtural eugenics secondary. This, then, is the foundation for the analysis or synthesis which is discussed in later pages. We shall there see that the supposed opposition between these two aims is unreal, and that rightly pursued they are everywhere complimentary and nurturally adjuvant.

CHAPTER I

NURTURAL OR SECONDARY METHODS OF RACE-REGENERATION

THE eugenics which concerns itself with the nurture and education of the individual will be here discussed only in so far as, according to certain phenomena later to be considered, it bears directly upon the questions of heredity and natural eugenics. Apart from those special phenomena of what I call the "racial poisons" nurture is mentioned here only in order that it may be given equal rank with nature in our estimation, and in order that one may repudiate those who have discovered heredity only to lose environment, and desire us to exchange one half-truth for the other. Unfortunately, it is much easier to introduce a term than to control its employment, but one may well wish that there were some means of preventing those from calling themselves Eugenists who advocate eugenics—as they misunderstand it—merely as an alternate programme to social reform (of which true eugenics is the criterion, goal and guide), or as an argument for the continued dominance of that particular social caste which they call the better class. It is the better-looking class, the better-fed, the better-rested, and the better-clad; but these are inadequate grounds on which to assert that race-regeneration means "keeping the lower orders in their place," and leaving the race to be recruited by their

"betters"—who are indeed rapidly ceasing to recruit the race at all.

Nurtural eugenics need not be discussed here because its various aspects are in constant discussion everywhere, under such heads as Hygiene, Literature and Religion, and because many of its most important constituents will be separately dealt with in forthcoming numbers of these "New Tracts for the Times." It need only be added, in further protest against the extremists, that our new recognition of the importance of heredity is perfectly compatible with what is equally evident to students of biology—a new recognition of the importance of nurture and environment, minute chemical differences in diet, to take only one instance, being now known to effect the most tremendous consequences. For example, nowhere has recent study more clearly shown the importance of heredity than in the realm of insanity and idiocy; but it has no less clearly shown, in the salient and familiar case of cretinic idiocy, that the addition of one single ingredient to the diet may convert the idiot into a person of fair and normal mind. I commend this instance to the study of the "biometricians," whose fine work in the recognition of the importance of heredity has been marred for utility and for science by their partisan failure to recognise that it takes two halves to make the truth.

Later we shall see that, by combating the racial poisons, the nurtural eugenics of one generation may be the natural eugenics of the next.

CHAPTER II

NATURAL METHODS—THE FIRST ESSENTIALS

If we are to practise race-regeneration we must first effectively believe that the race can be regenerated. We must imperatively believe in the power of knowledge for that end, and we must overwhelmingly believe that the end is worth while. These are the necessary qualifications for the propagandist, and it is most heartily to be urged that propagandism is fruitful. One who will soon have completed a decade of that work can confidently assert, upon the evidence of public behaviour at lectures and of private correspondence, that public opinion is modifiable, and that doctrines—regarding, for instance, the segregation or permanent care of the feeble-minded—which were received in silence or hesitancy only a few years ago, are now accepted with ready and prepared assent. It therefore behoves all who can express themselves by voice or pen, either in public or in private—and who cannot?—to become centres of influence, gradually leavening the lump, until the public opinion which governs the world may be ripe for the great task of race-regeneration.

But the propagandist requires certain qualifications, which have been hinted at in the foregoing, not to mention a rigorous impartiality, which declines the manifest seductions offered by prejudice or partisanry of one kind or another.

First, he requires to believe that the regeneration of the race is possible. To deny it is, as was said by Ruskin, the last infidelity, not to God alone, but to nature and natural law. It is an infidelity which is becoming rarer. Men whose vista of history ended at six thousand years could believe that "human nature is the same in all ages"; but that hopeless error cannot survive in the atmosphere of evolutionary thought which was the most precious legacy of the "wonderful century" to what will some day be called the eugenic century.

Secondly, he must very sincerely believe in the value of knowledge or science. Not only is this the highest task which science can perform; without science it cannot be performed. Not for a moment do I suggest that science alone can perform the task. It is a task for religion and ethics and politics in the highest senses of those much-abused words; but these require knowledge as their handmaid. Further, since all life is fundamentally one, and since the laws of life are the laws of all life, we must not scorn, even for the making of men and women, the lessons to be learnt from the sweet-pea or the dog or the horse. And if the writer be met anywhere with the argument that his doctrine of the importance of heredity would abolish human responsibility, he may reply that, on the contrary, our knowledge of heredity, after the fashion of all knowledge and all power, increases our responsibility. Men and societies have failed, in the past, to perform the task of race-making or race-maintenance, but they have failed in ignorance. If we fail in the culture of the racial

life, which is the vital industry of any people, we sin against the light, and ours shall be the greater damnation.

Thirdly, he must truly believe in the greatness of his cause. Without this belief, or having only some partial or distorted version of it—intimately bound up with Tariff Reform, or Socialism, or Free Trade, or the House of Lords, or caste or any other fetish—he will fail in his mission, as have many such before him. For this is a jealous god, and says, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me." The advocate must therefore regard the regeneration of the race as the be-all and end-all of every institution. It is upon the quality of men and women, in the last resort, that judgment will be given. That criterion must be sacrificed to no dogma or formula or prejudice or assumption—religious, social, political, scientific, professional or other. If a proposal labelled socialistic be eugenic, it is right; labelled Buddhist or Protectionist, agnostic or mystic, or whatsoever else, it is also right, if it makes for good men and women. Democracy is nothing, nor bureaucracy, nor aristocracy, nor monarchy, nor imperialism nor republicanism—in itself; even the supposed ultimate canons of morality must be re-examined and, if necessary, revised or re-stated in order to arrive at the supreme end for which the world was made—the production of noble men and women.

These demands are easier made than complied with; but they are essential, and are purposely made at this point, since questions of nurture are relatively simple

and free from prejudice, whereas those which we are about to consider are intertangled with every fibre of our social and individual lives. But let the reader be warned in time; so soon as he perceives in the writings of the present or any other advocate the slightest tendency to champion any part against the whole, to prostitute this divine ideal to the service of any party, to claim that only by his method can the end be attained, or to affix obsolete nineteenth-century labels to proposals, institutions, or practices, instead of judging them on their real merit and that alone—let such pages be quickly closed: there is poison in the leaves.

CHAPTER III

POSITIVE OR GALTONIAN METHODS

THE original Eugenics or Good Breeding advocated by Galton was concerned with favouring the marriage and parenthood * of able persons. Ability of various kinds was the character the hereditary transmissions of which Galton first studied, and his "Hereditary Genius" and other works still incline his followers to insist upon ability as the quality most to be sought after. This is a position which cannot for a moment be maintained, once we recognise the daily prostitution of mere ability on all sides; and it was certainly not maintained by the founder. In his later years it was "civic worth" for which Galton sought to breed, having first satisfied himself that this quality—or, as we should now say, the various constituents of this complex quality—may be inherited; as one may say, being largely innate it is therefore largely transmissible. It is evident that the idea of civic worth is comprehensive, will include both physical and psychical categories, and will exclude no form or quality of mind or body which is capable of serving human life, present or to come.

* Parenthood is the parental function; parentage is ancestry. Writers on these subjects are very generally in the habit of using parentage when they mean parenthood, which is a pity, because it is a confusion. It is the man of worthy parentage from whom we desire and expect worthy parenthood.

It might be that genetics attained such perfection and society gave it such opportunity that we could actually bring to birth infant Newtons and Shakespeares and Platos and Nightingales. But they would require nurture like everyone else. Any of them, without nourishment or with improper nourishment, infected by certain microbes, deprived of sufficient sleep, would be made worse than worthless to themselves and to us—a charge, a burden and a danger to society. So much for those who, on so-called eugenic grounds, oppose improvement of nurture, or discourage the efforts of those who practise the whole and indispensable art of education.

One preliminary point further before we proceed to the statement and examination of methods. The advocate of positive eugenics is met, at the outset, with the argument that he does not know what to aim at, that there is difference of opinion as to what constitutes so-called civic worth, and that the attempt to breed for an ideal undefined and indefinable is evidently absurd. This argument usually comes from those who are engaged in other forms of racial and social amelioration, especially education, which come under what I call nurtural eugenics. This attitude on the part of those who should be our comrades is greatly to be deplored, but their argument, it seems to me, may be most readily answered. To it I always reply—and I would suggest to other advocates that there is no other reply which is nearly so effective or just—that in advocating positive eugenics I attempt to set up no new standards or ideals

of civic, social, racial, or individual worth. On the contrary, I am content gladly to accept those variously excellent ideals which have been recognised and acclaimed in all ages; and, to use the *argumentum ad hominem*, I would reply to the educational critic: "But you, my dear sir, are presumably aiming at something. You surely have some ideal or choice of ideals towards which you direct your educational efforts—say, the *mens sana in corpore sano*. You admit that, of course; very well, those are my ideals also; merely I propose, by the use of my method, which is the application of the principal of heredity, to complement your splendid efforts to attain them."

This counter is evidently final, except against him who maintains that nothing can be done, and who accordingly aims at nothing, whether by one means or another. But he may be left to the jaws of darkness, which already yawn for him.

Let us proceed, then, to consider the positive methods which we may define as the *encouragement of parenthood on the part of the worthy*.* Here we definitely

* Too many advocates, who have neither well examined their biological theory nor have had to face the fire of controversy, use the words "fit" and "unfit" where they should use "worthy" and "unworthy." The error is seriously to be deplored. As I am incessantly compelled to insist, fitness and unfitness are entirely mechanical and non-moral terms, as when we say that a key fits a lock. Just so does a species fit its environment. The fitness may depend upon characters we call non-moral, as the possession of bones, or characters we call evil, as tearing-teeth, or characters we call good, as maternal breasts and self-sacrifice. Further,

mean by eugenics what it indicates—Good Breeding. We are not here concerned with the methods of inquiry in the field of heredity. The proper name for that inquiry is Genetics, a word introduced by Dr. William Bateson, its pioneer and greatest living exponent. But eugenics is Good Breeding; not an inquiry, but a practice. This practice, like the practice of medicine or surgery, is based upon certain fundamental sciences; what physiology, for instance, is to medicine, so genetics is to eugenics. In the course of our review of possible methods we shall have to refer to genetics and to toxicology, to experimental biology and to neurology, and to many other sciences; these, however, are not eugenics, but the foundations of eugenics, and we must clearly keep in mind the distinction between these sciences and their students, on the one hand, and the practice of Good Breeding, on the other hand, of which the representative is him whom I call the Eugenist. As regards genetics or the study of heredity, admirably defined by Professor Arthur Thomson as the organic relation between living generations, it will suffice to note that the Mendelian revelation, of which Dr. Bateson is the fore-

if the environment is more suited to, e.g., feeble-minded children than normal children (as in our present rude foreshadowings of civilisation), the idiot is fitter than the healthy, though certainly less worthy. This misunderstanding has led to volumes of inept criticism of Darwinism and of Spencer's admirably exact phrase, "the survival of the fittest." The aim of eugenics is to make the (inevitable) survival of the fittest the survival of the best. (*See* "Parenthood and Race Culture," Chapter III., "Natural Selection and the Law of Love.")

most representative, and upon which the achievements of the future will be based, compels us to realise that we can learn nothing about the *laws* of heredity (the understanding of which will alone enable us to control it) without studying at least three consecutive generations. All that supposed study of heredity which has concerned itself merely with the data derived from parents and offspring alone is therefore seen to be entirely valueless; and if that verdict consigns to oblivion practically all the recent work of the so-called "biometric" school, of which Galton himself was the founder, but which has been pursued by disciples very alien to him in temper and training—such an issue cannot be avoided. It will remain for students qualified, as Galton was, both on the biological and on the mathematical side, to apply his pioneer methods with a success of which we can scarcely yet so much as dream.

The possible methods now to be briefly reviewed may be divided into three classes for my present purpose, according as I believe that they must be respectively (*a*) REJECTED, (*b*) QUESTIONED, (*c*) ACCEPTED. This arrangement is not for purposes of dogmatism, but for purposes of thought. No two people may entirely agree as to the category to which any given proposal or measure must be allotted; but it is surely desirable to begin by instituting such categories, if we agree with the profound aphorism of Bacon, that "Truth is more easily extricated from error than from confusion." The distinctions between the various methods are, of course, only categorical, and in many instances one

method may serve various ends. It is not for a moment imagined that what follows is comprehensive. It will suffice if we can succeed in obtaining an indicative outline of these methods. It must be remembered that almost every change in public opinion, however small, almost every legislative enactment or decision, on the part of the smallest body, will in greater or less degree affect marriage and parenthood (e.g. by postponing it in a particular case), and may, therefore, be a method of Eugenics or Dysgenics, Race-Regeneration or Race-Degeneration.

It may be said in general that, apart from the supreme method of marriage, the positive methods of regeneration, at any rate under anything like present social conditions, will be mainly educative, whereas those which are negative and preventive must, as we shall see, be largely legislative. These are, of course, only general statements, but we shall probably see that *direct* legislation for the mating and parenthood of the worthy is not practicable; and, on the other hand, that we cannot to any great extent prevent the mating and parenthood of the unworthy without legislation. The unwary enthusiast for Galtonian views may be reminded that Galton himself left no offspring. The worthy, the original, the autonomous, the responsible—these are the last men and women who will permit themselves to be married to order. In so far as legislation can effect positive eugenics, it must chiefly be by removing artificial and unnecessary obstacles to the marriage and parenthood of such persons. Let us now proceed to

the three classes, the rejected, the questioned, and the accepted, of our methods of positive eugenics.

A.—REJECTED. *The institution of compulsory mating and anything else that involves the destruction of marriage.*

There should be no necessity whatever for so much as the mention of such degrading proposals as have from time to time been given forth as being necessary by men who imperfectly realise our true aim and methods. No man of science can for a moment mean that all proposals, however unusual or daring, are not to be examined on their merits; but the objections are so overwhelming and so obvious that no one capable of obtaining a hearing should have advanced them. Yet proposals of this kind have been made and reiterated, in apparent seriousness, by Mr. Bernard Shaw, whilst Mr. G. K. Chesterton has frequently described eugenics as meaning that we are all to be married to one another by the police. It is necessary, therefore, clearly to repudiate alike the professing friend and the open enemy who misrepresents the proposals of responsible writers. It is further necessary, especially for the younger generation, who are growing up ready to question and examine the merits of all institutions, however ancient or universal, that we should clearly understand why these debasing methods are inapplicable to humanity. We *cannot raise the race by degrading individuals.* Whatever lowers the humanity of fathers and mothers, whatever elevates the physiological above the psychological, the body above the mind, is an enemy of the race and no

method for its regenerators. Our contemporary is not the first non-father to propose the application of the methods of animal breeding to the human case. In his "Republic," Plato set forth a similar scheme, which is surely the most shallow and foolish ever suggested by a profound and illustrious thinker. In Plato's scheme, the utmost care was to be taken that, though the babies were to be nursed, no mother should nurse, or be able to identify, her own child. That "Republic" never was and never will be; but only those whose study of modern science has led them to the fundamentals of the human constitution will realise how wildly impossible is its denial of first principles and repudiation of the supreme evolutionary forces which have brought the race thus far, and will some day urge it much nearer to the stars. Finally, these proposals involve the total destruction of the existing foundations of society, and indeed of any human society of which we have knowledge, or which the most adventurous student of human nature can imagine. They may here be rejected with contempt.

B.—QUESTIONED. (1) *Marriage Certificates.*—The general underlying principle of marriage certificates would appear to be a sound one, and they have been largely advocated as means alike of positive and of negative eugenics: the worthy, being granted them, would marry; the unworthy, failing to obtain them, would not be permitted to marry.

I have frequently discussed in public the granting of

such certificates, but have never actually advocated them. The question is much more difficult than appears at first sight, and the proposal may take various forms, of various value. The proposal that marriage shall only be permitted to those who have been granted a certificate—those who, in other words, have passed a medical examination for the purpose—is probably an impracticable one, and is, I think, of doubtful sociological soundness. To begin at the beginning, it must be remembered—though it is commonly ignored in this discussion—that there is a distinction between marriage and parenthood. The concern of the eugenist is not at all with marriage as such, but with parenthood, and with marriage in relation to it. I do not for a moment admit that Society, in the name of eugenics, is entitled to forbid anyone to marry. It may be entitled to forbid parenthood, and in many instances it may be entitled to forbid marriage, because it has no adequate guarantee that marriage will not involve parenthood. There are cases, however, not merely imaginable, but actual, as the record of my private correspondence alone would abundantly show, of people who certainly should not have children, and whom many would therefore seek to keep asunder, yet who are married and live happier and better lives therefor, whilst faithfully regarding their duty to negative eugenics. We must recognise that, as human beings become more responsible, the number of such cases will increase; and in the name of many of the best men and women, in whose blood, perhaps, there

may run some insane taint or what not, I protest against the notion that marriage and parenthood are to be regarded as identical because marriage is primarily for parenthood, or because it is convenient to assume that they are so in public discussion.

Further, the employment of marriage certificates as necessary for marriage—the method, indeed, of what may conveniently be called marriage permits—must be considered in regard to the conduct and destiny of those to whom the permits are not granted. They do not cease to desire marriage; and society has no means, and probably will year by year have even less means than ever, of preventing such persons from pursuing their natural course outside the realm of marriage. It would be a poor result of the method of marriage permits if the less desirable children were simply born illegitimate. There is a limit—variable and modifiable, no doubt, but real—beyond which we cannot increase the difficulties of marriage; though too many advocates of marriage certificates write as if the elect had merely to be found and certificated and no further problem remained. If and when certain highly contagious and chronic maladies are notified, then their victims will doubtless remain under medical jurisdiction, and unable to marry, until they are cured; but these diseases furnish a special problem, which will ere long be completely solved on other lines, as we shall see, and the question of marriage certificates need hardly take that problem into account. The general achievement of education for parenthood will meet most of the difficulty; and the

education of public opinion in these respects will provide us with a generation of young people who, with their guardians, will be able to protect themselves in these respects on their own account.

No doubt there is much to be said on the other side, and the adoption of marriage permits may very well be feasible and useful at some future day; meanwhile it seems to me that it requires much more discussion and criticism than it commonly receives.

In another form, marriage certificates, definitely not as marriage permits, may be much more unhesitatingly approved as a useful measure of positive eugenics, which would indeed be a development, as I see them, of the records entered, as Sir Francis Galton observed, in the Golden Book of the Chinese. Such a certificate as I imagine would be partly personal and partly a record of the stock. It would comprise the essentials of the family history of the individual, together with a statement, chiefly medical, of the individual himself or herself. In the coming time, which is perhaps nearer than most of us suppose, the prospective son-in-law will incalculably increase his chances of winning favour in the wise eyes of a maiden's father if he can present a good record of this kind, which will indeed comprise a much completer and profounder prognosis of the young man's "prospects" than fathers are commonly reputed to require. It is certainly the business of the advocate so to educate public opinion that parents generally may be led to ask from those who desire to marry their children such evidence of true biological suit-

ability as certificates of this kind would furnish. But I would suggest that the method of advance is along this line of educating public, and especially parental, opinion, rather than making vague and ill-formulated demands for marriage certification, for which public opinion is not prepared, and by which it is not prepared; and which arouse in many minds fears of something in the nature of a scientific inquisition. After all, this is only a re-statement of my conviction that the chief positive method of race-regeneration is education rather than legislation.

(2) *Bonuses for Children.*—Proposals of help for parents in the form of bonuses for children have frequently been made, but in this form such help is surely open to grave question. It savours too much of a species of compensation—something handed over with the phrase "Here's luck," and suggested adjournment to drown dull care in wine. Now the problem before us is not merely that promising children shall be born, but that they shall be kept alive; and the granting, at each birth, of some quasi-compensation in cash is evidently not sound if we follow the maxim, *Respice finem.* Nothing in the nature of a bribe is to be looked upon without suspicion as a wise method. We shall have to offer parents certain advantages, and very substantial ones, as we shall see, but they must be for the child's advantage and for the parent's aid. What of the fate of the baby when the bonus is spent if it was for the sake of the bonus that the baby was produced? In stricter terms, the argument against financial proposals

in this form would be that we want to see children produced primarily for the love of children; and we must be cautious in listening to those people who are for ever speaking about "breeding for ability," and at the same time telling us that eugenics is to be made part of our religion. We want other things besides ability—a non-moral form of power which, like sunlight or dynamite or printing, may be turned to vital or to mortal ends. There is plenty of ability in the world which—used as it is—the world would be better without. We want the parental instinct and the "tender emotion" which is its correlate in the affective (which is also the effective) realm of our nature. We therefore want children to be born to those who have the love of children; that is the first, if indeed it be not also the last, essential. On the one hand, we must on no account interfere with or hamper the production of children by such people; and on the other hand, we must gravely consider whether it is right to attempt methods of bribery for the production of children on the part of people who do not desire children for their own sake. The eugenic ideal, as I have long defined it, is that every child that comes into the world should be planned, desired and loved in anticipation. The production of children should neither "pay," in the vulgar sense, nor should the parent "lose money" over it. I believe that both of these principles will be recognised in the coming time. The granting of bonuses for babies does not meet the present need with any real adequacy, though there are doubtless many instances where such a bonus would

be worthily and usefully employed, and though the system of "maternity benefits" goes some infinitesimal distance towards realising this idea in an unobjectionable form.

C.—ACCEPTED.

Whilst the granting of bonuses for babies is probably to be condemned as crude, yet the principle of granting adequate help to parents is not only sound, but is daily becoming more and more urgently and imperatively necessary. The proper ways in which society may grant this help may now be considered, though such consideration will be of profit only if we hold hard by first principles, which are, I believe, that the help is not to be a bribe; that it is to be specific, definitely reaching the point towards which it is aimed, and not, for instance, slipping into the public-house till by mistake; and that it is to be steady and continuous, like the child's needs. Directly we abandon any of these principles we shall err, and the error may be very grave.

The forms of parental help may now be considered; and it may be well for us to realise that, at present, we handicap parents in a large number of ways, and that we must plainly begin by compensating for those handicaps. Thus, we provide free education, and that is a form of help for parents, it would appear; but, on the other hand, we forbid the parents to profit by their children's earnings, and shall increasingly and rightly do so. Factory legislation and the whole body of enactments which protect childhood are clearly right, as regards secondary or nurtural methods; but they are

by no means eugenic in the long run if, by handicapping parents, they result in a lowering of the birth-rate amongst the very best, the most provident and responsible, members of the artisan class. On this matter, statesmen must think again; and they must think the more, the later the age up to which they demand compulsory education, however free and however necessary that education be.

There is a psychological aspect to this question which is commonly ignored. It is that, as I once heard Mr. Arthur Balfour say, "Probably you can get as much pleasure out of three children as out of six." It was only an *obiter dictum,* but it was a flash of light for the present writer, to whom the fact and the meaning of it had never occurred. The parent can indeed satisfy the parental instinct and the tender emotion as well upon three children as upon six, if not a very great deal better. Hence it by no means follows, as is commonly assumed, that the whole, or anything like the whole, of the voluntary fall in the birth-rate is selfish. It may very well be the highest type of parenthood, both of motherhood and of fatherhood, that finds itself induced, in the present state of society, to concentrate itself, so to say, upon comparatively few children, rather than dissipate itself, less effectively, upon a larger number. The birth-rate is to be discussed in another issue of these "New Tracts" in a far more authoritative manner than I can maintain; but surely no one to whom the foregoing considerations have been presented, will question that the principle of parental help, or, at least,

of removing parental handicaps, has now reached the stage of practical and necessary politics.

It has, indeed, reached the statute-book, though more by way of illustration and example than in substance; for plainly the principle of parental help is illustrated by the famous provision in Mr. Lloyd George's Budget of 1909, whereby fathers in certain circumstances were to profit by an income tax remission to the extent of seven shillings and sixpence per annum for each child. As practical parental help, fifteen sixpences do not go far towards the support of a child for fifty-two weeks, but the recognition of the principle, which must be greatly extended, is most heartily to be applauded.

The National Insurance Bill of 1911, in providing what it calls "Maternity Benefits," takes a much more substantial step in the same direction, and I shall not readily forget the pleasure and astonishment with which I heard Mr. Lloyd George, certainly the first Eugenist amongst modern statesmen, announce his intentions in this respect to sympathetic cheers from both sides of the House of Commons (May 4th, 1911, a red-letter date in real politics). Provisions for confinement, specific, certain, adequate, and covering a period both before and after it—that is most evidently a prime method of race-regeneration, and to that, by no means completely attained even yet, we shall come. We shall have to recognise, as a cardinal sociological and eugenic principle, the rights of mothers. Concerning the "rights of women," the "rights of wives," the "divine rights of kings," much argument is possible—nor is much more

certain than Carlyle's dictum that the divine right of kings is the divine right to be kingly men. But regarding the rights of mothers, no biologist and no eugenist can hesitate for a moment. Their recognition is immeasurably older than mankind, older even than the mammalian order, and we may neglect or deny it at our peril. The first great step in the direction of race-regeneration will be the universal granting of this principle to all mothers, married, widowed, unmarried; and the next will be to ensure that the duties of fathers, married or unmarried, are even more adequately discharged. The duty of the State is to help the father to do his; and the plan of the Insurance Bill, whereby the prospective father is in some cases compelled to contribute towards the care of his wife when she becomes a mother, is thus biologically and sociologically sound. No true Eugenist can hesitate for a moment to applaud it with all his might.

(1) *Further parental help.*—It will be a question for the future and for the logic of events—more especially those events called the birth-rate—to determine how far we shall have to grant further parental help in proportion as our demands for the care and nurture of childhood become more stringent, and especially, in so far as they are extended, as they must be, to the earlier years of adolescence.

It was the last admirable suggestion of Sir Francis Galton that we should seek to turn the stream of charity to the service and assistance of worthy parents and worthy children instead of allowing much of it, as at

present, to fertilise the growth of worthless or even noxious weeds. This excellent proposal will, of course, be combated. It will be opposed by those who object to all forms of charity or voluntary agency, and who desire the State to undertake all such things. It will also be opposed by all those persons who object to any form of charity, as weakening self-respect and independence and favouring the multiplication of the unfit. Failing any prospect of the mutual destruction of these parties to the incalculable gain of the public at large, Eugenists must everywhere seek to discharge their duty of educating the benevolent, so that all charity whatsoever may as soon as possible be everywhere directed, controlled, chastened and inspired by the eugenic idea. When the little seeds which we sow to-day are grown into great trees, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations, this ideal also will be realised.

(2) *Education for parenthood.*—Apart from the institution of marriage itself, I regard what may be called Education for Parenthood as the principal positive method of race-regeneration. This must be for youth of both sexes, adapted carefully to the special conditions and circumstances of boys and girls respectively, and reinforced at every point by the religious sanction. Here, above all, it is that the Churches will ere long find and perform one of their great functions, long and disastrously neglected.

Half a century ago Herbert Spencer published a great indictment of the educational system of his time, in that, whilst educating for everything else, it wholly

ignored the most important duty and responsibility of all, which is parenthood; not, as he observed, that this duty can be discharged without preparation, nor yet that it will devolve, directly or indirectly, only upon the few. This omission, deplored in 1861, is still to be noted, and is still more to be deplored in 1911, when the birth-rate amongst all except the mentally degenerate has fallen so greatly and is still falling. In the overhauling, revision and reconstruction of the whole scheme of education, which is now imminent, we must and will see to it that this huge and fatal omission is made good. The more must this imperative duty to the nation's adolescence be discharged now that the time is at hand when educational care is not to cease, for the vast majority of the nation's children, just when the boy is beginning to become a man, and the girl a woman.

But let it be very clearly laid down that by education for parenthood I do not mean merely instruction in, say, the science and art of baby-feeding. Instruction is not education, but merely one of the instruments of education. Instruction in the practice of motherhood is urgently needed in all classes of society except those where the mother relegates her most divine functions to the charge of a competent professional. It would be folly indeed to decry all and any efforts in the way of schools for mothers, hygiene classes, and so forth, for remedying the appalling maternal ignorance which, as I have asserted ever since the beginning of the modern campaign against infant mortality, is the chief cause of that perennial slaughter

and damage. Such instruction, however, whilst a necessary instrument of education, is not the whole, nor even the greater part of it.

To take the case of the girl, parental education, instead of merely concerning itself with the care of her baby, will be at work when she is choosing the baby's father. In all times and places, women's primal and supreme function is or should be that of choosing the fathers of the future. This great idea should be recognised, implicitly and explicitly, in the education of every girl; she is or may be partly responsible for the future of mankind. She herself, mind and body, is holy, for she is the temple of the life of this world to come. She must honour and care for herself accordingly; and this twofold aspect of her present and future duty, in caring for herself and in choosing her co-creator of the future, must be instilled into her mind with the solemnity, the sanctity, and the authoritative sanction of a religious dogma. The faithful assiduity, the variety of method, the earnestness, the perseverance with which in the past the mysteries of religion were instilled into the young—these must be rivalled and surpassed in educating for parenthood, which will be an essential part of the religious education of the future.

No less definitely than the celestial religion's appeal to permanent and valuable constituents of human nature, this terrestrial religion, and the education for it, appeals to powerful, almost ineradicable, elements of our being. The natural man and the natural woman are Eugenists at heart. Each of them prefers, in mem-

bers of the opposite sex, youth and maturity rather than senility, beauty (which has a high degree of correlation with health) rather than ugliness, straightness and efficiency of limbs and feature rather than deformity, optimism rather than pessimism, intelligence, good temper, sympathy, rather than their opposites. There is indeed, speaking in popular language, a eugenic sense; and the business of those who undertake the great task of education for parenthood is to educate—that is, to lead forth and develop—this sense, and, in the first place, to oppose and if possible destroy those agencies, chiefly servants of Mammon, by which the growth of this most precious element of our nature is vitiated or arrested.

But we must be very heedful of our speech. If we are to call ourselves Eugenists, Race-Regenerators, Imperialists, or Patriots, we must beware of saying, in the hearing of our juniors, that "So-and-So has made a good marriage," when we are palpably referring to factors which cannot possibly determine, nor ever did, nor ever will, the goodness or badness of any marriage. We cannot regenerate the race, nor even save our civilisation, if we are to talk—nay worse, if we are to act—in this way within the hearing and sight of youth.

Many a sermon might be preached from this text; none the less considering that, so far as the heart of the Empire is concerned, the standard of ostentation and luxury has risen even within the memory of the young. It would need many chapters, psychological and physiological, to demonstrate in how many ways, obvious and

obscure, luxury is dysgenic, as indeed the pages of history, even without analysis, would go far to prove. Here it is impossible to do more than urge that, if our education for parenthood is to comprise example as well as precept—if, indeed, it is to be worth a straw in its actual effect upon the conduct of the young generation—it must comprise a campaign against luxury in every shape and form. I do not advocate the so-called "simple life" or the "return to Nature," as those terms are commonly understood. We can no more "return to Nature," in that sense, than maturity can return to the womb; but it is possible to accept civilisation, use the telephone, take a daily bath, enjoy the most complex orchestral music, read books, refrain from casual expectoration, and do many other things of which we should find no sign if we "returned to Nature," and yet preserve, in personal habits of diet and sleep and exercise and thought and desire, a simplicity and rationality which all these "modern improvements" may indeed be made to serve.

And so far as precept is concerned, we may note for our instruction and for that of youth, that no race or civilisation hitherto has been able to survive luxury. "Nothing fails like success," as I am in the habit of stating it; and the simple and efficient cause of this failure is the failure of the birth-rate. That failure has many causes, and their analysis is a great and lengthy theme, simple only to those who have given it no thought; but if we know the fact, the explanation is of no practical importance. Our duty is plain; for

ourselves and those whom we can influence we will abjure indolence and ostentation and indulgence in all their forms.

It follows that, when our young people want to marry for love, the foremost question in our minds will always be, Is it really love? If it be that noble and exquisite thing, if the desired partner be such an one as can evoke it in its lovely entirety, then in the name of heaven and earth let us beware lest we dare to regard any other question, least of all Mammon's, as of equal, if indeed of any, importance. It is, of course, impossible to compress into the space now available a whole treatise or even a compendium of answers to criticisms; but at least the foregoing passages may indicate the answer to a criticism which reaches me, in public discussion and private correspondence, perhaps oftener than any other —the criticism that "Love laughs at locksmiths," or (in a slightly different form) that the Eugenist is proposing to ignore or even to outrage one of the most beautiful and precious attributes and possibilities of human nature. The Eugenist who proposes to reckon without love is a fool, pernicious if he were not futile, and no more need be said of him. Eugenics must recognise love and do it honour and use it, and champion it against those who, in all times and places, are prepared to defile it for Mammon or Bacchus or Priapus.

It will be seen, even from a few sentences such as these, that Education for Parenthood, as I conceive it, is far too great a thing for any one person, or even for any one profession, to compass. It requires—and when

its importance is realised it will obtain—the co-operation of all who are in any way responsible for youth. Four great classes of persons have this duty laid upon their shoulders—the parents, the teachers, the ministers of religion and the doctors. Each of these four groups of persons has its own special responsibility and its own special duty. Education for parenthood will be achieved, and the future of civilisation will be assured, on that day when these four classes learn to work hand in hand, in sympathetic and organised combination, without jealousy, with mutual respect, in constant consultation, for the common end.

In preparation for that day we may briefly define the proximate goal and ideal of this education.. All educators presumably have a goal in view—some ideal of mind or body or conduct at which they aim. This education is to aim at making worthy parents. Many of those who undergo it will doubtless never become parents; they will be all the better citizens, all the better individuals, all the fitter to discharge the function of foster-parenthood which devolves, more or less nearly, upon every responsible member of the community, if they have received such education as I have in mind. Its proximate goal is what may be most simply and succinctly defined as eugenic marriage; and that is the last method of race-regeneration which we may include under the heading of the present chapter.

(3) *Eugenic Marriage.*—Without meaning for a moment to question the existence and the worth of many happy marriages which are unfortunately childless, or

to suggest that the right kind of marriage is not of high value to individuals and to the present, one may lay down the general principle, universally recognised, that marriage has reference, primarily and above all, to children and the future. What I call eugenic marriage is that which promotes worthy parenthood, and it is evident that the consummation of such marriages, in each generation, must be our supreme proximate object. It is for eugenic marriage, and for the avoidance of dysgenic marriage, that we strive in our education for parenthood.

Not all marriages, nor all forms of marriage, nor all laws of marriage and of divorce, are eugenic. But marriage is and always will be, as it doubtless always has been, the instrument of instruments for our purpose; and when we consider "education for parenthood," or "maternity benefits," or "marriage certificates," or any other "method," it is the service of true marriage at which we aim. For the sociologist and anthropologist marriage is the social institution —and the biologist goes farther back and says it is the vital institution, far older than mankind—whereby motherhood is supported, buttressed and amplified by fatherhood, which last, no longer merely a physiological relation, becomes responsible and co-operative with motherhood for the service of the life of this world to come. Once we recognise, as we certainly must, the existence of sub-human marriage—much more than mere mating—we may be at a loss to define marriage as distinguished from other forms of sex-relation.

Some years ago I argued that marriage must be defined as that form of sex-relation which involves or is adapted to *common parental care* of the offspring—the support of motherhood by fatherhood. If the real meaning and function of marriage be thus understood, we shall see that the so-called eugenics which proposes to repudiate marriage expresses the last conceivable limit of fatuity, and needs no further discussion on any other ground.

But, as we have already suggested in relation to education for parenthood, there is the prior question of choice; and the value of marriage is not merely in furnishing common parental care for offspring, but as the human means and expression of what Darwin called sexual selection. This sexual selection, as practised amongst ourselves, must more and more be directed by our previous education for parenthood; otherwise the marriage is not a eugenic marriage, and the opportunity has been missed, or worse.

Thus the principle must be laid down that when the instructed Eugenist speaks of the reformation of marriage he necessarily means its eugenic reformation. He means that public opinion and legislation shall operate against the making of such criminal marriages as society daily exemplifies, blessed by Church and State, but accursed by Nature and her Author. He means that the first consideration in the choice of men by women and women by men shall be the natural value, the biological status of the individual in question; what he or she is, not what he or she has. We are to teach that, in choosing the individual for individual qualities,

the chooser is providing for himself or herself the best conditions for happiness and the best conditions for the future. For the married people as individuals, it is their natural qualities above all that matter; and it is these, as the laws of heredity teach us, that matter for the race.

It is especially to be observed, since the point is of national importance and hitherto ignored, that women's great function of choosing the fathers of the future is grossly interfered with under such conditions as obtain in Great Britain, where there are no less than a million and a third of women over the age of twenty-one in excess of men. In the greater part of her colonies, the numerical proportion of the sexes is the opposite one, and it should be part of her Imperial policy to export no small proportion of her girlhood, under scrupulously careful conditions, to Australasia and Canada—of course with the consent of the individuals concerned. But it will take some time yet to turn politicians from the fiscal question to this supreme question of *vital* "imports and exports."

The laws of divorce are, of course, part of the laws of marriage; and in all questions of this kind the Eugenist is compelled to remember and consult his criterion. In general, it is clear to him that whatsoever changes are made, by legislation or by public opinion or by both, in the conditions and customs of marriage and divorce must be eugenic. That a woman should have motherhood forced upon her by a chronic inebriate, he being her "lawful husband," is so evidently wrong that it can-

not possibly be right. Eugenic marriages are indeed "made in heaven"; but there are dysgenic marriages which were evidently made in hell. To liberate such a wife as the foregoing illustration describes may be to free a worthy person, who may marry again, and bring worthy instead of tainted children into the world. Any modification of the laws of divorce such as made this possible would evidently serve the cause of both positive and negative eugenics.

I am well aware of the difficulties of this subject, and of the diametrically opposite opinions which are held by equally honest and thoughtful persons. But I am evidently bound to express, candidly, but without scorn of those who think otherwise, my own belief that, in the sacred and supreme interests of the future race and its best friend, which is marriage itself, the laws of divorce must and will be modified, as regards certain forms of insanity, of gross and transmissible disease, and of alcoholism, in those directions which best serve the end of ends.

(4) *Transvaluation of social values.*—Here I have borrowed a phrase from Nietzsche to indicate that we shall never make much real headway with our positive methods until we have taught ourselves and our youth to value all individuals in all their social relations, in terms of their real value, and to reject with disgust the notions contained in such a phrase as "How much is he worth?"—meaning that he may be diseased and bestial, a source of death and corruption on every hand, but has command over so much money. Value, as Rus-

kin reminded us in those fundamental lectures on economics which we have yet to discover, is derived from the Latin word meaning to be strong and well. If we are to achieve the regeneration of the race, we must make our social values correspond to the great criterion imposed upon us by Life.

One may be excused for turning very slightly aside to suggest how this question bears upon the economic position of woman, that being a matter of very great importance to the race. For when we discover in what value really consists, and that there is no wealth but life for a nation as for an individual, the economic position of woman will be profoundly modified. She who creates the future, she who, whether as mother or foster-mother, as nurse or teacher, is the great maker of life and carer for life, is surely the last person to be in a position of economic insecurity in a sanely constructed society. In a day that will be, all sorts of people now greatly prosperous, but morally incapable of doing anything to serve anybody, will find themselves at their wits' ends for a crust; but if anyone is secure, it will be she who makes and nourishes the life of the world to come. Eastwards we may see the faint blush of this approaching dawn, and it is our duty speedily to make the world go round until that dawn becomes day.

CHAPTER IV

NEGATIVE METHODS

HAVING already defined positive eugenics as the encouragement of parenthood on the part of the worthy, we may define negative eugenics as the discouragement of parenthood on the part of the unworthy. To the student of inheritance in the realm of pathology it was evident that here was a question which formed part of Eugenics or Good Breeding in a negative sense, and I therefore proposed to call it negative eugenics, with the approval of Sir Francis Galton, whose own proposals were then best defined as positive eugenics. Though Sir Francis himself admitted that negative eugenics was the most urgent part of our campaign, I have purposely devoted the greater part of my space to positive methods, because it is a subject which we have latterly tended rather to neglect, and because the constructive part of our proposals is far and away the more important, though certain aspects of negative eugenics may be more urgent at the present time. It must be remembered that we shall not raise or regenerate the race merely by purging it of diseased elements, however necessary and desirable that process may be. Being responsible for the inclusion of this subject under eugenics, I wish particularly to insist that I regard it as of small importance compared with the Galtonian idea. Eugenists must beware of supposing that they have done any more

than a preliminary piece of work, prior to a fair start, when they have achieved, say, the segregation of the feeble-minded.

We may proceed, then, to consider the negative methods; and under this heading we shall find ourselves mainly concerned with simple, practical measures, largely necessitating legislation.

A.—REJECTED.—(1) *The Lethal Chamber, the Permission of Infant Mortality, Interference with Ante-Natal Life, and all other synonyms for murder.*

In dealing with the problem, say, of the feeble-minded, we have to discharge our duty to all concerned, to the patients and to the community, present and to come. I purposely place the patients first, for there is an evident risk that they, as individuals, and the eugenic cause may be injured by would-be prescribers who have lost touch with first principles—as enthusiasts, even those most admirable of enthusiasts called Eugenists, are apt to do. Thus we need mention, only to condemn, suggestions for "painless extinction," lethal chambers of carbonic acid, and so forth. As I have incessantly to repeat, eugenics has nothing to do with killing; natural selection acts by death, but eugenic selection by birth. We propose to replace a selective death-rate by a selective birth-rate; eugenics is selection for parenthood, not selection for life. No form of actual or constructive murder (such as the permission of infant mortality) has any place here, for all these proposals to kill miss the vital point, which involves the

distinction between the right to live and the right to become a parent. I heartily object to anyone who makes such proposals taking to himself the name of Eugenist. If he does not care for the name of murderer and wants a euphemism, he must find one for himself; there are plenty. If it were that only by Nature's method of inflicting capital punishment at one stage or another we could raise or even maintain the quality of the race, we should have to consider such proposals; but since we are human and purposive, not mechanical and automatic, since we can distinguish between life and parenthood, they are superfluous.

(2) *Mutilative Surgery.*—Since proposals for mutilative surgery—by which I do *not* indicate non-mutilative sterilisation—have been made in this connection they must be mentioned, but only to be condemned. They are unnecessary; and so, therefore, is further discussion of them.

B.—QUESTIONED.—*Refusal of permission to marry.*—The argument may briefly be repeated here that refusal of permission to marry (whether by means of certificates or otherwise) cannot be regarded as a perfect solution for any appreciable number of cases where we wish to prevent parenthood. It is idle and useless, because it is false, to pretend that marriage and parenthood are synonymous; and to forbid marriage, on grounds of negative eugenics, to persons who still live in and as part of the community is to court many kinds of disaster. Indeed, the more I consider this question,

the more inclined I am to transfer this method to the number of those which we should definitely reject.

C.—ACCEPTED.—*Segregation.*—The permanent care, under humane medical supervision, and primarily in their own interests, of the naturally defective is what is meant by segregation. Few proposals of our time are more frequently misunderstood and misrepresented; and I propose to preface its consideration with a very brief summary of the consequences which directly follow from our present method of failing to provide the mentally defective and diseased—to whom I shall confine the question, as they are nearly the whole of it—with lifelong care.

At the National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution, held in London at Whitsuntide, 1911, we gathered together in the section dealing with this subject, a number of papers by authoritative writers whose knowledge of the problem is first-hand; and the following is an extract from the paper, *The Eugenic Summary and Demand,* in which I attempted to express the substance of the evidence:—

> The mentally defective and diseased, existing in it and as part of it, injure the community in the following ways:—
>
> (1) They contribute largely to the ranks of chronic alcoholism and inebriety, with all their consequences—for the description of which, despite the cheap and common gibe, the language of

no temperance reformer can very well be intemperate.

(2) They contribute largely to the illegitimate birth-rate; that is to say, to the production of children for whose nurture, quite apart from the question of their natural defect, no adequate and satisfactory provision is or indeed can be made.

(3) They contribute largely to the ranks of prostitution.

(4) They thus contribute largely to the propagation of the venereal diseases, with all their consequences to the present and the future.

(5) They are responsible for much crime, major and minor, both *mala in se* and *mala prohibita.*

(6) Both directly, as economically inefficient and indirectly in the ways here cited, they contribute to the number of the destitute, constituting the majority of the naturally, as distinguished from the nurturally, unemployable.

(7) They contribute largely, as parents married or unmarried, to parental neglect and cruelty to children, which is probably more injurious to the adult life of the next generation than most or any of us realise.

(8) They contribute largely to the ranks of the wastrel and the hooligan.

In such ways and to such a degree these persons injure the community. But it has particularly to be noted that therein the community also injures them. The fact is obvious to all of us here; but

it is by no means obvious to our vocal and voluble critics outside, who fancy that we are preparing harsh measures, in the interests of the many, against the unfortunate few who cannot help themselves. The injury wrought by the present relations between the community and these unfortunate persons is mutual; they injure it, and it injures them. But not until we recall the words of Burke, in the light of modern genetics, shall we realise the full measure of this injury; for, as that great thinker said, a community is "partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, and those who are dead, and those who are to be born."

To the foregoing indictment of the present state of things, and remembering that whatever is inherent is transmissible, I therefore add that:

(9) They *become parents* and thus contribute incalculably to the maintenance of these evils—after we are dead, but not after we are responsible.

Such are the grounds on which we demand the policy of segregation or permanent care for the victims of such mental defect and disease as is known to persist and be transmissible. We definitely put the interest of the individual patients first; and we demand proper care, apart from the community, for the feeble-minded woman of sixty as well as for the girl of sixteen. True, what we ask is not only the discharge of a humane and imperative duty to the individual, but also involves, in

the latter case, the protection of the future—only we must be very careful to put these two objects in their proper order.

In his famous Romanes lecture, Huxley declared that "moral evolution," with mercy to the hindmost, opposed "cosmic evolution," with its survival of the fittest and the consignment of the hindmost to the devil. Darwin, in his "Descent of Man," declared that, notwithstanding the racial consequences, we must continue to care for the degenerate. The difficulty is solved, I suggest, by negative eugenics, which satisfies the demands of "moral evolution" by taking the utmost, kindest, above all the most continuous care of these persons, and in doing so incidentally satisfies the demands of "cosmic evolution" (of which "moral evolution" is surely a part) by excluding the possibility of parenthood.

Unfortunately, many persons are taking up the cry of the "segregation of the feeble-minded" in a fashion which leads the kind-hearted, and the champions of what they understand by liberty, to suppose that we simply want to run these unfortunates into cages and leave them there. Therefore, after many years of reiteration, with voice and pen, of the demand for segregation, I now plead only for *permanent care.* They are the same thing; but public opinion, which will never grant the one, will readily grant the other. There are champions of liberty, as they misunderstand it, who appear to think that the feeble-minded and inebriate girl who has "fallen" (and whom we have felled) is freer

in Piccadilly than in a home, and who are actively engaged in justifying Madame Roland's cry, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" with far more poignancy than anything in the history of the French Revolution. We who seek to protect the feeble-minded, so that helpless girls of sixteen, after years of care and devotion, may not be turned adrift just when our care should be redoubled; we who seek to avert the fate of the feeble-minded mother of an illegitimate, feeble-minded child, a mother who may thereafter seek her living and her child's in the streets, and become the victim of horrible disease, abandoned by God and man, as it would seem—it is we who are the friends of liberty.

But we must be careful so to state our case. We must insist that the feeble-minded or insane person's own interest is our primary concern, and then if we are challenged about liberty by those who think in names, we must reply that liberty is not a gift but an achievement, and may remind our literary critics of the words of Goethe, that freedom is his alone who daily conquers it anew. In so far as this conquest is at all possible for such patients it is possible only under the care against which those who think of liberty in mechanical terms protest. The defective-minded are in the position of children all their lives, and our duty is accordingly to take care of them, primarily in their own interests, as we take care of other children.

Against segregation it is urged that the cases for care and control cannot be recognised. This argument is commonly advanced by those critics who say, "We

know nothing about heredity," which indeed no one denies. Those, however, who do know something about heredity, and who possess some first-hand acquaintance with the mentally defective, must answer this objection seriously, for it is a real one in the eyes of public opinion. My customary reply to objectors is, and has long been, that, as regards the many doubtful cases, we must continue our study, and meanwhile beware of rashness; but that there are many more cases as to which there is no doubt whatever, nor possibility of it; and that our doubt of the former group does not discharge us from doing our evident and unquestionable duty to the latter. I further make a point of adding that all decisions as to the care and control of the mentally defective will be subject to frequent periodical supervision, as already in the case of the certified insane at the present time. This is a most important point, much to be commended to the attention of public advocates. Our business is to teach the public and the press and the pulpit and the politicians that what we mean by segregation is not harsh, hasty and irrevocable, but humane, deliberate and flexible.

People are still to be found who argue against segregation that it would be expensive. Omitting consideration of the assumed blasphemy, which rates gold against life, we may note that, on the contrary, segregation would be incredibly cheap as compared with the present expense; only the actual cost would be known (being measurable) in the one case, whereas it is unknown (being immeasurable) in the other. The ex-

pense argument is, however, like the other two, of great practical importance; and that is why we must make and keep in mind such a catalogue of the consequences of the present policy as I have already outlined. After reviewing it, only the very feeble in mind will ever again cite this argument against the right care of the feeble-minded.

The child is the growing point of progress. Everywhere and always that is necessarily true, but it is conspicuously so in this connection. The solution of the practical problem of the mentally degenerate will be almost wholly found in the existing care of children at the school age. The school period must and will shortly be extended to include at any rate the earlier years of adolescence. With this extension and under these conditions we shall be able to distinguish between the naturally defective child and the child who is merely dull or backward owing to lack of sleep, imperfect diet, the half-time abomination, or any other such nurtural cause.* So far as Great Britain is concerned, our new system of compulsory national insurance, beginning at the age of sixteen, will supply the means whereby observation of each child may be maintained from the end of the school period, which will soon be sixteen; and there will be an end of the hideous and far worse than savage folly (for no Zulu or Maori or Bantu would be so guilty) of leaving the adolescence of a race to the

* See the present writer's paper, "Eugenics and Education: the Problem of the Feeble-Minded Child," read before the British Association, 1911.

"care" of chance and Mammon and alcohol and the insurgent instincts of youth.

Many other forms of transmissible defect and disease besides those of the nervous system must come under the ban, and be treated accordingly. The emphasis must now be laid upon these mental and nervous conditions because the case is so flagrant and urgent, and because the numbers of these patients are so large and their birth-rate so high. But at any time the Eugenist may find that this question has been rightly dealt with on his lines. Indeed, as I write, in the summer of 1911, His Majesty's Home Secretary has promised to introduce legislation on this subject, in accordance with the foregoing arguments and the Report of the recent Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded, both Majority and Minority Reports of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, and that of the Departmental Committee on the working of the law in regard to inebriates.

When this question is happily settled, the advocate may proceed to deal with other matters of high importance. His method will in every case, like the method of the skilled physician, be adapted to the particular instance. He will "treat the patient, not the disease." I repeat that we must distinguish between marriage and parenthood. There will be cases where a fully responsible person is for one reason or another unworthy, and to such a person marriage without parenthood will be permitted. Indeed, we need not say that there will be such instances, for there *are* many

such contemporary cases. On the other hand, marriage, even without parenthood, must be forbidden in certain cases of disease, where the marriage itself would be a crime, as involving the infection of the present, quite apart from the infection of the future.

CHAPTER V

PREVENTIVE METHODS AND THE RACIAL POISONS

But it does not suffice to pursue positive methods, the encouragement of parenthood on the part of the worthy, and negative methods, the discouragement of parenthood on the part of the unworthy, if there be any agencies in the world which are forever turning worthy into unworthy stocks. If there be such racial poisons, plainly we must stand between healthy stocks and their influence. We must do so none the less because, as it happens, Sir Francis Galton and the mathematicians who have worked under his *aegis* at the University of London, not being students of pathology or toxicology, have ignored this question, which may yet be found to be the greater part of the whole problem.

By the term racial poisons I mean to indicate those agents, whatever they be, which, in greater or less degree injurious to individuals as individuals, prejudice their subsequent parenthood. The protection of parents and possible parents—above all, therefore, the protection of adolescence—from the action of such racial poisons is most evidently a branch of eugenics, and the terms which suggest themselves for describing it are preventive, protective, or conservative. Perhaps, on the whole, the first of these is the best, providing a parallel with preventive medicine.

The methods to be pursued in this great branch of

race-hygiene will be partly educative and partly legislative. They are bound to be various, for they must be exactly adapted to the individual necessity. The racial poisons are very various; they include substances, inorganic such as lead, organic such as alcohol, and organised, such as the living causes of certain forms of disease. Circulating in the parental blood, they reach and injure the racial tissues or germ-plasm presumably in the course of that wonderful process, the formation of the germ-cells, which is known as gametogenesis and of which the Mendelians are finding the key. Professor Forel, to whose illustrious services to our cause I desire here to record a humble tribute, has given the name of blastophthoria to this damaging of the germ-plasm. I believe we require to distinguish between acute blastophthoria, such as may occur during extreme alcoholic intoxication, and the much commoner chronic blastophthoria, which may occur both in alcoholism and in plumbism when the external symptoms of poisoning of the individual are few or none.

It is not my business here to discuss the many problems which are raised by this question of the racial poisons. But before we proceed to the methods of preventive eugenics it may be noted that the new science of experimental biology is beginning to solve these problems for us, mainly in the United States, where larger funds than elsewhere are available for scientific experiment. Many observers there, of whom perhaps Macdougal is the foremost, are showing that chemical changes in the environment—or nurture or food or

blood supply—of germ-cells existing in the bodies of potential parents may produce new variations (not necessarily morbid) in the offspring, which breed true, and may actually be transmitted in strict Mendelian fashion. In this new work, which Professor Gilbert Bourne, of Oxford, in addressing the British Association in 1910, justly reproached English students for neglecting, I venture to find steadily accumulating warrant for the view that certain substances, of which alcohol, lead, and the syphilitic toxin are types, are racial poisons, which may originate defect, abnormality or disease in a previously healthy stock. If we judge by the work of the American school of experimental biology, the experiments and observations of Sir Thomas Oliver with lead, those of Laitinen, Hodge, Demme, Combemale, and a host of other students with alcohol, the observations regarding malaria adduced by Ross and Jones, and the general trend of modern psychiatry—they will point to a number of toxins or poisons, some of which act upon the nervous system of the individual at various stages of development or in maturity, the more important of them also being capable of producing blastophthoria or poisoning of the germ-plasm, which falls most severely, as theory would lead us to expect, upon the determinants or Mendelian "factors" (probably proferments) of the nervous system of the future child.

In discussing preventive methods one can do no more than briefly refer to one or two points. We require much more knowledge than we at present possess regarding the nature of the problem; and we are entirely

unaware as to the limits and number and names of the racial poisons, for the subject is a new one, and its identification is only a matter of a few years' standing. It is plain, however, that preventive methods provide the meeting-place and the common ground for the Eugenist on the one hand and the Social Reformer on the other hand. The following methods may be briefly considered.

A.—REJECTED.—*The State Regulation of Vice.*

This I place here on the sufficient ground that it has been repeatedly tried and has repeatedly failed. Readers who may be inclined to suppose that the alleged success of the official "regulation of vice" in connection with the conditions of a barracks community is evidence of its applicability to a civilian community, should consult the scientific, experienced, disillusioned, but illuminating pages of Forel's "Sexual Question." These methods, as in Paris, do not control either vice or disease; and since that is the verdict upon them, being also the verdict which the expert would have anticipated, *cadit quaestio.* There is thus no need to consider the overwhelming moral objections to them.

B.—QUESTIONED.

Under this heading there remain for prolonged consideration and experiment all manner of legislative proposals regarding the sale of alcoholic liquors, the use of lead glazes, the employment of young women, especially in trades where there is risk of plumbism,

and so forth. Our business here is merely to note these questions in their due place in relation to race-regeneration.

C.—ACCEPTED.—(1) *The Notification of Venereal Disease, and the adequate Provision of Treatment.*

These methods of prevention need not further be discussed than to say that the recent work of Ehrlich promises to make them much more practicable and efficient than we could have hoped only a year or two ago.

(2) *The Expert Instruction of Adolescence.*

Here, also, no more is necessary than to make the evident demand. The day of doctoring for doctors will come, the word doctor meaning teacher; and when drugging is largely abandoned for this real doctoring, and when men and women doctors are employed to instruct youth of both sexes in these matters, the doom of the racial poisons will be at hand.

(3) *The Protection of Parenthood from Alcohol.*

In the light of the recent experimental evidence, the doctrine, "Protect Parenthood from Alcohol," is, in my judgment, the most important that the temperance reformer can advocate. I have made it my business for a long time past, on temperance platforms, to criticise much ordinary temperance propaganda as misdirected, lacking a sense of proportion and missing the great point. The temperance propaganda which, in the face of modern maternal alcoholism in especial, concerns itself exclusively or mainly with acute alcoholic intoxica-

tion of the individual, which it calls "the sin of intemperance," is not adequately wise; but it seems to me that all men and women of good will, of whatever class or creed or party, ought to be united in supporting the principle here laid down, with the sure guidance it offers to those members of the temperance party who desire the most and best fruit from their labour and time. Of course one must not be ashamed of belonging to the temperance party, for the alternative of belonging to the intemperance party seems more shameful still. And certainly the professing Eugenist has no choice in the matter.

Brief reference may still be necessary to the lamentable report on the influence of parental alcoholism on the offspring which was published by Professor Karl Pearson in 1910, and in which he came to the conclusion that the children of alcoholic parents were, if anything, somewhat superior to those of non-alcoholic parents on all the counts examined. It suffices to say that, in studying the influence of parental alcoholism upon the offspring, it was omitted to ascertain in a single case whether the alcoholism or the offspring came first.* There remains only to repeat here the demand for the public withdrawal of this overwhelmingly discredited

* The reader may be referred to the long controversy in the *British Medical Jonrnal*, which ended in the issue of February 11th, 1911, with letters from Sir Victor Horsley and myself, and a frank editorial apology for having formerly called Professor Pearson's critics "over-hasty," in the following words: "It is now abundantly clear that this epithet was ill-chosen, and we regret that the expression was used."

report, the most tragic instance within my recollection of the miscarriage, through ignorance and over-confidence, of sincere intention and patient labour.

We are about to discover that the true politics is domestics, since there is no wealth but life, and life begins at home. We are going to have the right kind of life born, and we are going to take care of it when it is born. If we would build the living foundations of a civilisation that shall endure, we must preach a new Religion and a new Patriotism, which know that, since individuals pass away, parenthood is the supreme factor in the destiny of nations. In the light of this truth and the verdict of science it cannot be questioned that he who at this date is for alcohol is against civilisation and whatever ideals of justice and freedom and goodness we would transmit to the future. To all and sundry I say, "Would you befriend men, women and children? Go, protect parenthood from alcohol; and fear not that kind of laughter which is as the crackling of thorns under a pot."

Such, then, in brief and imperfect outline, is my programme for race-regeneration: "And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."

For ends no less than these shall Religion and Science, long sundered and still estranged, join hands in the coming time over the cradle of the unborn, and a little child shall lead them.

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